J: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

323 one will sometimes meet with long strings of men and
45 women, carrying ten to a dozen pots, hawking them
317 round the upland villages, or offering them for sale
at the local market at Tukuyu. The pots made at
[53] Mstema are smeared on the outside with a dull red
ochre, and the more artistic potters work patterns in
red, with thin lines around the protruding middle,
and herring-bone or crossed patterns from thence to
lip and base.

• 353 I once slept in a native house in which there was
a double row of pots, one on top of the other, along
two walls. I was told that they were there for orna-
mental purposes, "just as you white men have pictures
on your walls."

285 Basket work is done everywhere, and a great variety
48 of baskets are made. Immense *ifitaba*, for storing
grain, up to four feet high, and perhaps ten feet in
girth, are to be found in almost every family. Smaller
baskets for carrying goods of all kinds; wide shallow
baskets for sifting grain; others for serving food, and
yet others for drinking beer. The latter are so closely
woven that they will hold water, and are made from
a fine grass, which is found only in certain regions. A
new development of this industry is the making of
articles to European, or native, order; hats, table
mats, baskets with hinged lids and divisions inside,
almost anything can be made if a specimen is given
to the maker as a sample from which he may copy
what is wanted. Basket work includes also the large
and small fish traps in use at the lake or on the rivers.

286 Net making is naturally confined to the lake shore

12: Biegaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

by horizontal bamboo joists, at right angles to the principal beams of the ceiling. This ceiling never covers the entire room, but only the greater part, and always the part directly above the hearth. Up here firewood is placed to dry. A fine black basket is hung from the ceiling above the fire. Access to the loft is by means of a ladder.

When you read reports by the 'first' Europeans on these peoples and their houses, they always refer to a round house with inclining walls and a conical roof. Merensky (1894) mentions and illustrates such a house (pages 141 et seq.). Fülleborn (1906) mentions and illustrates several houses (Text Volume pages 336 et seq., and Atlas, plates 64-67). The inner surface of the walls of the house was decorated with patterns impressed into the mud layer which covers the bamboo poles. The three stones that form the hearth are shown, and also the bed behind a low permanent partition wall. These were exceptionally fine houses with beautiful, decorated and painted doors. The entrance had relief ornaments, often of coloured clay. Fülleborn notes that the mud houses are the dwellings of married people.

There is no doubt that the round house is the original type of dwelling. In 1955, I saw no round houses like the ones described by the above scholars, but I know that formerly they were often seen, at least as late as 1932. Professor Monica Wilson of Cape Town has told me that she saw them everywhere in 1932, but that during a visit to the district in 1955 she found only one single house of this type, in the village of Mwaka.

At the time of my visit, round houses could be seen, but not the type having walls inclining inwards near the ground, and they were not by far as imposing as the houses mentioned above; and there were not many of them. I had the opportunity to make drawings of three houses, all occupied by old people.

The round house is called an *isinga*. In one of these *isinga* there lived an old man whose wife, Malia, lived across the courtyard in a rectangular hut of the old Nyakyusa type (see infra). The husband's house was 6.5 metres across, and was divided in halves by a fence made from sticks. One half was where the man lived; it had one bed for him, and one for his grandchildren, who would come to visit him, now and then. Near the wall were two iron chests; also, a board had been hung at the wall as a roost for the chicken. A hen's nest, a small wicker basket, was placed about 3 ft. above the floor in the furcation of a four or five-pronged stick. These hen's nests are seen in all houses. The ceiling was supported by seven upright posts, seemingly placed entirely at random. The under side of the roof was strengthened by eight circular-running fascines of bamboo. In the centre, a heavy log (not bamboo) reached up to the pointed top of the roof.

The other half of the house was reserved for the cattle, three cows and two calves; there were five posts to which the cattle were tied at night.

The house had an outer door at each end, but there was no passage from the man's half to that of the cattle.

12: Diagnard E-5 (1955) 1962 FNIT Ngonde FNIT
Nyakyusa

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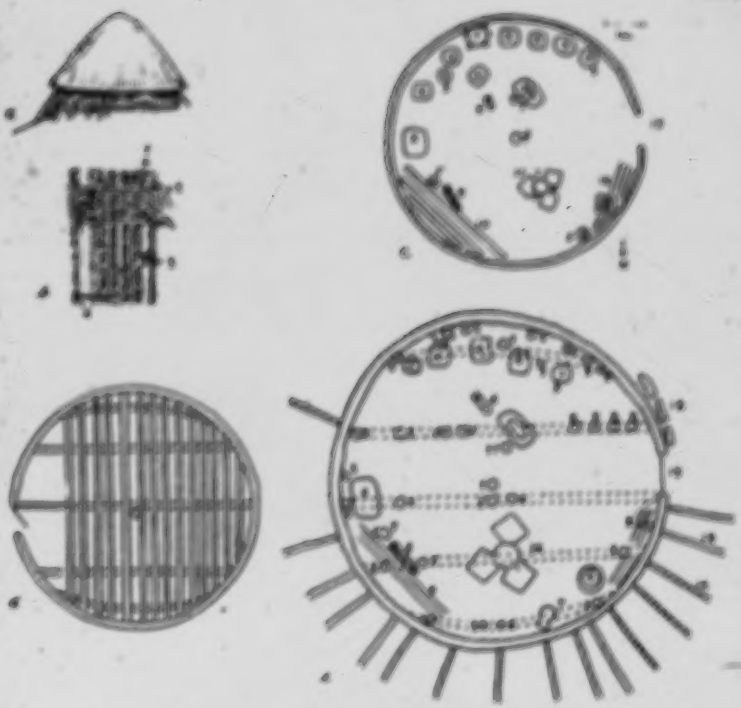

Isanga. Mahoba's house at Ifoko near the Rungwe mission station.

a. Elevation showing buttressing posts; to the right of the door is material for thatching.—b. Detail of wall. 1, cow's horn; 2, bark fibre for winding round poles; 3, notch made in bamboo pole that was crooked; 4, beetham.—c. Plan of house showing furnishings and utensils on the floor, but not the sticks that were lying everywhere (see plan c). 1, hen's nest; 2, basket; 3, jar; 4, nicely made basket; 5, calabash; 6, broom; 7, mill-stone and grinder; 8, centre post (here were a couple of bananas for food); 9, sleeping mat; 10, small under-ceiling from sticks tied together, for small things; 11, hearth; 12, heap of ashes, a kind of grass which looks much like thin bamboo.—d. Cross-section at ceiling level showing centre post, beams, and joists on which the sticks are placed; the centre post reaches right up to the top of the roof.—e. Plan of house showing beams of the ceiling (dotted lines, cf. d). 1, centre post; 2, other beam-carrying posts; 3, hen's nest; 4, baskets; 5, calabash; 6, broom; 7, calabash; 8, sleeping mat; 9, small under-ceiling, repository for small things; 10, hearth from three stones; 11, mill-stone and small grinder; 12, thatching material; 13, door; 14, outside buttresses.

342 The round house was standing on somewhat higher ground than the surrounding bananas; half the house was buttressed by wooden posts, possibly because the ground was a bit lower there. The walls were from bamboo poles,

12: Biegaard E-9 (1955) 1962 F317 Ngonde F317
Nyakyusa

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Isanga. Tufweme's house at Rungwe. Sept. 1935.

a. Elevation, *showing* doorway with walls drawn too thick; *the door itself has been left out.*—b. Outside detail of wall *showing* split cross-bamboos; red clay cobs between poles.—c. Plan. 1, jars; 2, shelves; 3, *shields* etc. (*an shields is a flat basket used as a plate*); 4, small window; 5, centre post; 6, hearth; 7, water jar; 8, spare bed; 9, banana fibres; 10, bird's nest; 11, sticks; 12, sticks for kitchen utensils; 13, door; 14, goat for locking door; 15, stone grinding trough; 16, basket with bananas; 17, pestle; 18, *kiln*; 19, *ulweeya*, mat for collecting flour from grinding stone; 20, bamboo ladder; 21, bed of the woman; 22, roast.—d. Cross-section of bamboo ceiling, with firewood for drying, and a flat basket below.

connected near the ground with tree fern stems which easily fitted into the hollow of the bamboo. Between these tree fern stems, the liquid manure from the cow-house could escape—much to the benefit of the nearby bananas.

The other *isanga* belonged to the old widow, Tufweme. She lived alone in her house. The walls were bamboo, up to 7 cm in diameter. From the inside, the space between the poles had been filled with 3–5 cm large cobs of red clay. Round the outside were four horizontal bands of split bamboo.

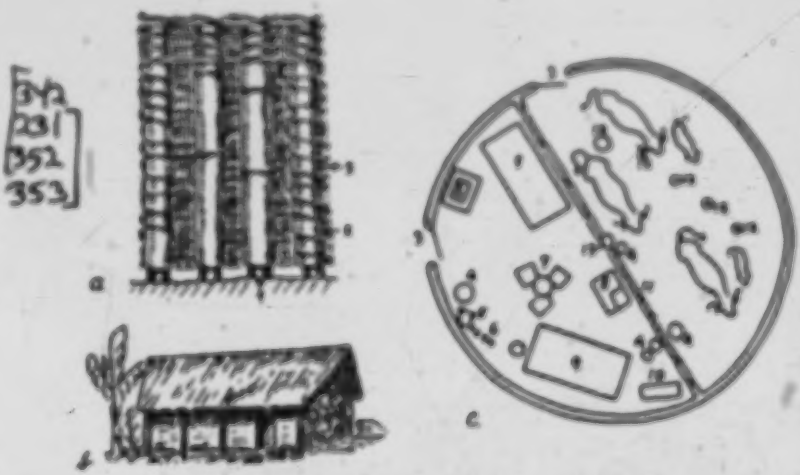
This house, too, was 6.5 metres in diameter, and it was divided into two equal [353]

12: Biegaard E-5 (1955) 1962 F917 Ngonde F917
Nyakyusa

part. The partition wall was bamboo and mud. A doorway gave on to the inner part, where Tafwene had her bed.

There were two hearths, one in each room. The front one was not used. In the outer room was a bed for guests—a common feature of all houses. Tafwene was thought to be well off, and she had plenty of carrying rings, used by the women when they carry loads, often very heavy, on their heads. The inner room was used for stores, including a number of earthen jars. She had three very fine, new ones. I saw them outside in the sun, but their usual place was no doubt in the outer room, which had the character of a workroom. Here were the large wooden mortar and its long pestle; also the grinding stone and in a corner the small mat, the *ulyanya*, which is used to take up the newly ground flour. There was also the ladder, used for fetching down firewood from the loft; you could see the hen's nest, and the large water jar with its pointed bottom placed on three stones.

The third *isinga* belonged to an eighty-year-old woman whose husband had died. She told me how every day she would fill a fine, decorated bamboo mug with milk for him! These mugs, seen in all the houses, mostly have symmetrical



Houses belonging to Malia Ulinyakuya and her husband.

a. Detail of *isinga*, outer wall. 1, tree fern stem joined to bamboo pole—note aperture for liquid manure; 2, bamboo pole with plant fibre windings; 3, split bamboo.—b, Malia's *isinga*.—c. Plan of *isinga*. 1, bed of the man; 2, iron chests for garments; 3, door; 4, posts supporting ceiling; 5, hen's nest; 6, here and pestle for the maize mortar; 7, hearth; 8, chests; 9, bed of the grandchildren; 10, roost from hollowed out trunk; 11, low partition; 12, pests for tying cattle; 13, centre post to top of roof.

12: Bisgaard E-9 (1955) 1962 FMI? Ngende FMI? Nyakyusa

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patterns burned into the bamboos; they are hung upside down so the dust will not settle in them. The bamboo is the natural partition of the bamboo room.

The house was standing on high, slightly sloping ground, and like the first mentioned house it was buttressed by a great number of thick branches. Incidentally, it seemed to be very old and rickety. Inside, there were a great many posts supporting the horizontal bamboo ceiling and the eaves of firewood. All posts were bifurcated and held the beams solidly in place. The diameter of the house was the usual 6.5 metres, but in this case there was no inner partition. As this woman was very poor, she had no bed, but slept on a mat on the floor. Only very rarely is there no bed in the houses. I remember having seen this only three times.

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The hearth was the usual type: three decorated square stones, rising to a height of 30 cm above the floor, but being sunk 30 cm into the ground. Here they were positioned on one side, to ensure that the centre post would not catch fire, and to make for easy escape of the smoke through the doorway. None of the houses have other means of smoke outlet.

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Alongside the wall were calabashes, jars, and baskets; material for the baskets; and a little away from the wall, the large roll-stone and its appurtenant smaller grinding stone. A hen's nest was not missing either. Along one side was fixed a small under-ceiling for the storage of small things. Two or three bananas, meant to be her next meal, were lying on the floor near one of the posts. From the left she reached down a calabash in which she had been carrying her child. Its inside was of a reddish colour.

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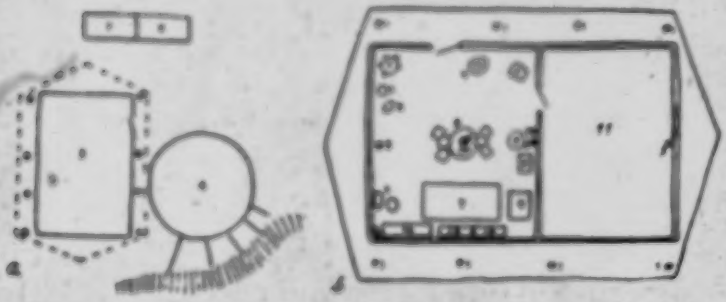

a. Site plan of Malia Ulinyehanya's houses. 1, hen-coop; 2, drying-racks for crops; 3, Malia's dilinga with roof supports along sides; 4, inanga belonging to Malia's husband, with buttresses at low ground.—b. Plan of Malia's dilinga (barred window in back room). 1, hen's nest; 2, dilinda (stool); 3, posts (those going up to ridge of roof are filled in); 4, large basket; 5, basket; 6, clay base round twin posts; 7, Malia's bed; 8, chest; 9, wooden chest; 10, table; 11, back room, having bamboo ceiling carried by bamboo cross beam (between posts marked 3); the room is used for storing clothes, etc.; 12, shelves.

12: Biegaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17 Nyakyusa

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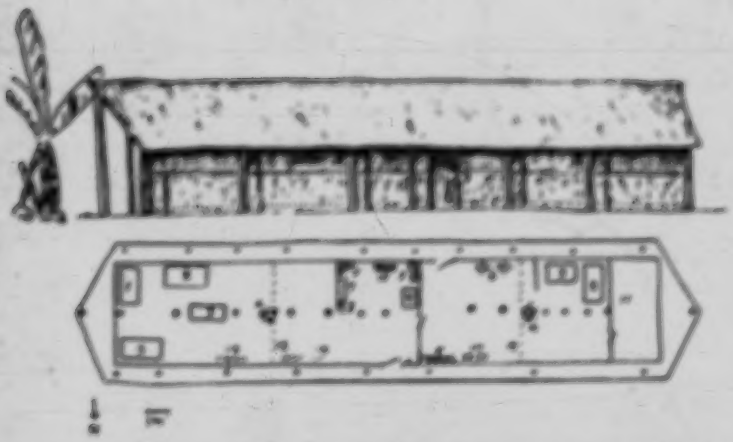

An *ikhaya* in the village of Kiwembela, the district of Rungwale, belonging to a man with two wives. The rooms have bamboo ceilings from dotted lines to ridge-pole. Posts reaching to ridge of roof are filled in: 1, husband's bed; 2, wife's bed; 3, child's bed; 4, hearth; 5, brew-pots; 6, water jar; 7, mat; 8, ladder; 9, table; 10, stools; 11, store-room; 12, dotted lines show limitation of ceiling; 13, small objects; 14, working material; 15, sleeping mat.

learn. On page 337, he reports how the boys, when 7 or 10 years old, will leave their parents' house to live in long, rectangular cowhouse-like houses big or small, in a special youngsters' quarter at the far end of the village. On page 358 he writes: In many cases you do not know for certain whether you are dealing with a youngsters' house or a cowhouse—for the cattle may well be kept in these houses—or the herdsmen may sleep in the cowhouses. However, this mainly holds true of the low-lying Konde country, while on the other hand, in the high country, the cattle is usually kept in the dwelling houses. On pages 371 and 372, he relates how the cattle is tied to posts at night, and he shows a picture of a cowhouse.

He also refers (on page 376) to the use of the rectangular house for married men besides the boys. The difference is seen in the fact that these houses are not roughcast with mud, as this work is the province of women. Finally, he reports that, during the last few years of his stay in the Konde country, he saw Konde houses being built under increasing influence of the coastal culture, in imitation of the Swahili houses. They were roughcast with mud inside and out, and had a verandah supported by posts.

In 1935, many *ikhaya* could be seen. Some were for the cattle, but most were dwelling houses for married people. (Boys aged 7–10 and upwards until the marriageable age lived in ramshackle boys' houses, the material of which was not bamboo, but a thinner grass, resembling bamboo very much. These houses stood

[343] [194 201] [462] [177] [824 855]

12: Biegaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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342 solitary or in a row some distance from the other houses of the village. They were never roughcast with mud).

Nearly all the dukaga had a post-supported verandah. I measured up and drew sketches of two houses of this type, one belonging to the above-mentioned woman called Malia, whose husband lived next door in an iwinga. She was a Christian—actually a church-elder. On the outside of her bamboo-framed, mud-roughcast wall, she had drawn a church in yellow, red, and black colours, and below she had written the word *kanisa* (church). Apart from a house near Lake Nyasa, of which I took a photograph and which had very modernistic and drastic drawings on the outside wall (crocodiles, a man and his bicycle, a man with his firearm), it is the only instance in which I saw any kind of coloured decoration on a house. Besides impressed patterns in clay on hearth and floor, I saw no decorations on the inside or outside of houses, except fine patterns in the outside wickerwork of the wall.

342 In this house, approximately 8 metres long, there were two vertical supporting posts, reaching to the very ridge of the roof, where presumably they were joined to the ridge beam. However, the beam could not be seen.

354 The hearth was peculiar in that it consisted of two pairs of hearthstones near a clay base that surrounded a supporting post and a shorter post. Thus two hearths were available, at the same time serving as fire-proofing to the posts. Though Malia was a single woman, the house had two hearths. You might think that she had seen a stove and had found that two cooking places would be useful. I saw this arrangement in one more place, in the house of a widow, who—by the way—was also a Christian.

● 353 A space nearly half the size of the house was partitioned off, the half-wall having a doorway. This room was for stores only, clothes etc.; it had a barred window. Besides the hearths, the living-room had hen's nests, stools, baskets, Malia's bed (2 m by 1 m), table, wooden shelves, boxes, and a chest. These last-mentioned objects she had had no difficulty in obtaining from the neighbouring joiner's workshop belonging to the mission.

342 The other dukaga is from quite a different district, that of Rutenganio. It was a very long house, as often seen in this locality, 26 metres long. I was told that

The type of house called ikasa, or isiwa.

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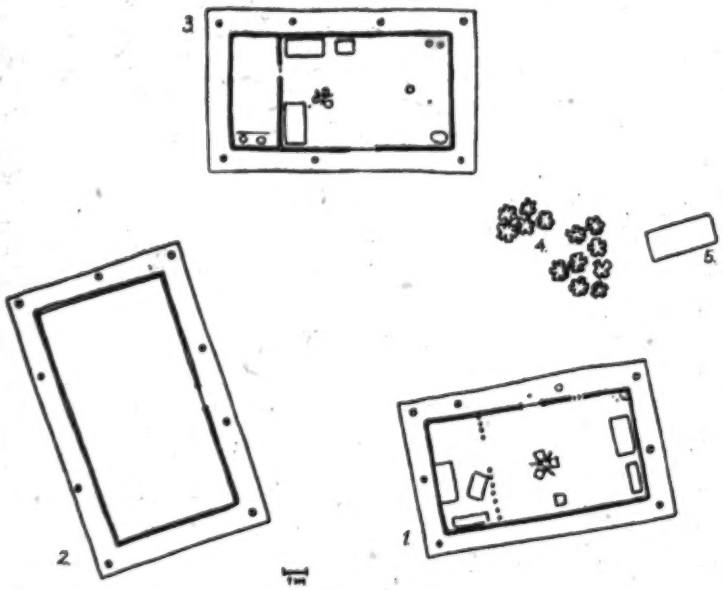

Three houses belonging to one family, situated round a common courtyard; the doors open on to the yard. The village street is along the back of the house at top. 1, Iselina's house; 2, Baba's house; 3, Idina's house; 4, banana plants; 5, hen-coop.

houses existed which were 60 metres in length. It had the same width as Malia's house, approximately 5 metres. The roof was supported by posts along the sides and at the gables.

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Two women lived in this house, both married to the same man. Consequently, there were two hearths, the stones of which were cylindrical-conical, broadening slightly at the top. All were decorated. Each woman had her part of the house, both with an outer door, and further there was a door, slightly narrower, between the two parts, and a fourth door to a store-room. No less than twelve posts supported the roof, all reaching to the ridge. The two parts were a bit unequal in size; nearly half of each had the well-known loft for firewood, etc. One part contained beds for the woman and her husband (one bed had too straw mats). The children had two beds. The husband had still another house, a short distance away at the foot of a hill, they said. I did not see it. The other woman's room held her bed and a cot.

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The hearths of both rooms were placed in the centres, between two upright posts. Utensils and furnishings did not differ much from the usual: hen's nests,

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12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17 Nyakyusa

352 two water jars, baskets, stools, a ladder leading to the loft, and a table. The rooms
415 were large and spacious, 5 m by 14 m, and in two places low partitions were
353 used to effect a sub-division of the rooms. One may well wonder at the great length of these houses, but probably it is quite true what is said, that, when—in
342 1891—the Germans took charge of the region and imposed a tax on houses, the
177 Nyakyusa men made their women move in under their own roofs—only at the same time extending the houses, using the technique they already knew from the cowhouses.

648 Fülleborn reports on this payment of taxes, and finds it reasonable enough,
178 because, he says, "it fosters in the people an understanding of work and discipline,"
342 and of the house tax he says, "it works to abolish polygamy, since every woman, following the traditions of her country, has her own house, for which her husband must pay the tax."

But the Banyakyusa seems to have adapted themselves to the new law and have moved their wives to the very long houses, thus escaping part of the taxes...

342 The third type of house was a rectangular house with a hipped roof. This type is called *ihema*, which means tent. It was also called *istoro*, the meaning of which I have not been able to ascertain; maybe it means chicken-breast, to which it bears much likeness.

This is the modern house-type to which Fülleborn may be referring when he talks about rectangular houses, "... the very rare instances when a hipped roof is seen ..." (page 379).

342 According to statements made by people who have lived in the district for a
177 third of a century, this type of house is thought to have come from the south some 20 years ago. I have not visited the Ngonde who live farther south, but Sir Harry Johnston (1897) depicts a group of people called "Wankonde (North Nyasa)" in front of a house which looks very much like the modern *ihema* of the Banyakyusa. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that the roof-construction design of the Ngonde has now reached the district of the Banyakyusa. Johnston also informs us that the rectangular type is not actually the original type in East Africa, but that it was probably introduced by the Arabs.

342 This *ihema* or *istoro* is shorter than the long *ikibaga;* seldom more than 11 metres in length. But its interior design does not differ. For instance, this holds true of the placing of the hearth, of the equal distance between posts supporting the roof, of the bamboo ceiling covering about half the room, of half-partitions from bamboo and in some cases mud, of store-rooms in the far end of the house, accessible through an inner door.

[592] In an *ihema* I have never seen more than one hearth, which means that the house is inhabited by one woman. A house in the village of Kikota presented an example of the peculiar tradition of the peoples of the Highlands, viz. the tying of the cattle to posts in the dwelling-houses. My drawings are all from the Highlands, where, in the *ikibagas*, as also noted by Fülleborn, the same tradition is

12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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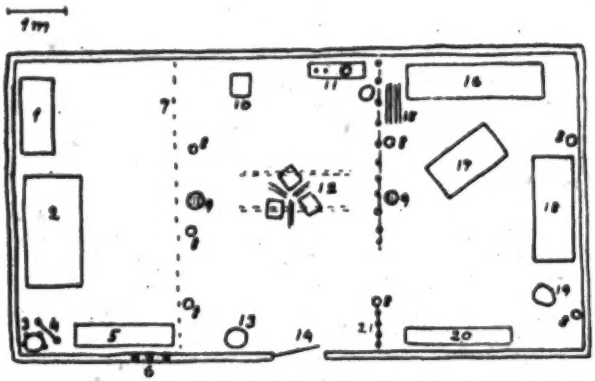

Iselina's house. 1, cupboard with shelves; 2, children's bed; 3, hen's nest; 4, ladder; 5, roost; 6, barred window; 7, from dotted line towards the right is the bamboo ceiling; 8, from here issue 5 horizontal bamboo sticks on which the bamboo ceiling is supported; 9, Posts supporting roof; 10, chair; 11, low shelf with two bamboo jars and a water jar; 12, hearth with three hearthstones and sticks under ceiling for carrying the fine basket, and corn-cobs hung up to dry, etc.; 13, beer jar; 14, door; 15, mats behind the low partition; 16, shelf for domestic utensils; 17, child's bed; 18, Iselina's bed; 19, baskets; 20, domestic utensils; 21, low partition between rooms.

found. In the front part of the Kikoła house, serving as an entrance room, were four posts called *fikingi*, to which two cows were tied at night.

This part, which we may call the cowhouse, also housed hen's nests, the roost, [231]
and the mortar to be used for maize, etc.

The hearth, consisting of one square and two round hearthstones, was placed [354]
in the centre of the living-room part. Here were also water jars and the woman's bed. This means that even if this type of house had a roof of a different shape and was always provided with a verandah with posts supporting its roof, the [592]
interior was really designed on the same lines as the short *ikibagà*, but it was meant to house only one woman, or one man, as we shall see below.

We may imagine that one of the reasons why the type of roof was changed, 342
was the weakness of the pointed roof of the *ikibaga*. It could often be seen to have 178
a tendency to fall in, and had to be supported by a post. Even in Fülleborn's illustrations, e.g. plate 64 c, a kind of reinforcement can be seen at the edge of the roof. No doubt the roof of the *ihema* does not suffer to the same extent from this flaw.

New houses were being built to this design, and I suppose that a little more 342
than half the number of the houses were of the *ikibaga* type, and a little than half the *ihema*.

In the village of Ilolo, I surveyed three houses belonging to one family, a [361]

12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17 Nyakyusa

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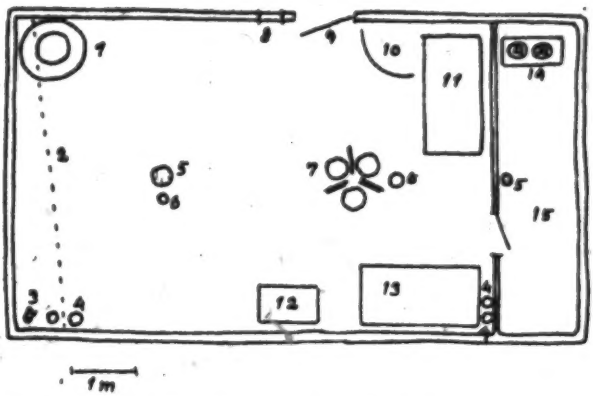


Idina's house. 1, basket; 2, clothes-line; 3, broom; 4, jars, in the back room on low shelf; 5, posts supporting roof; 6, small dimension bamboo poles, supports for the ceiling; 7, hearth with three round hearthstones; 8, shuttered opening through which the bolt may be reached; 9, door; 10, cassava for food; 11, spare bed; 12, table; 13, Idina's bed; 14, shelf for jars; 15, store-room behind mud wall with door.

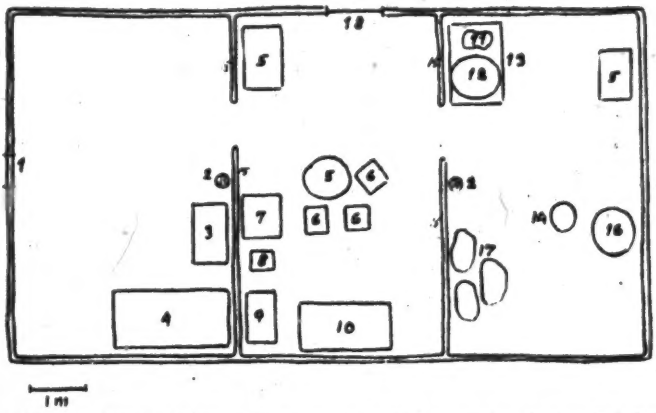
[361] man and his two wives. The houses were grouped round a common courtyard, the doors giving upon this space and not on the nearby village thoroughfare.

The three houses bore the names of Iseliña's house, Idina's house, and Baba's house. The elder wife, Iselina, had several minor children, who slept either near
352 her own bed or in the living area. She owned furnishings as modern as a chair
177 and a cupboard with shelves, besides the usual objects in these houses, baskets, bamboo mugs, hen's nest and roost, ladder and water jars. She also had an earthen-
[415 ware beer jar which, one day when I called on her, was standing on the fire,
273] nearly making the froth boil over. She was preparing beer for her husband's friends, who had just dropped in.

352 The new wife, Idina, had a store-room in her house, and there was also a large heap of cassava, meant for food. As often seen in these houses, she had also
[353 a guest bed. She had a number of jars and baskets, but no hen's nest. Straight
262] across the room she had suspended a line on which she put her clothes. Such an
[296] arrangement was often used, especially by the bachelors; they had a line for their shirts. Clothes-hangers were not in use. You just threw your clothes across the line. A wardrobe was never seen.

342 The interior of Baba's house presented a peculiar picture. It was divided into
352 three rooms, a living-area in the middle; at one side the bed-room, at the other a store-room. The bed-room had only one bed and a wooden chest. There was no hearth in the living-room—for the husband had his meals prepared by one of his wives. But there was a true accumulation of tables, chairs, suitcases, and a

12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa



Baba's house. 1, barred window; 2, posts supporting roof; 3, wooden chest; 4, Baba's bed; 5, table; 6, chair; 7, cupboard; 8, chair with three suitcases; 9, suitcase; 10, table with bookshelf; 11, bag; 12, large basket, *ikiteba*; 13, low stand for 11 and 12; 14, millet jars; 15, low partitions; 16, *ikimbo* in which the millet is washed; 17, rice in bags.

cupboard. This seemed very strange and a bit disorderly. On a chair were three suitcases on top of each other.

It was interesting to see, in the store-room, the very crops that belong to the man, viz. rice and millet, the most valuable produce. The rice was in bags, and it is quite probable that this man had bought it from the districts near Lake Nyasa, where it thrives well. On higher ground, rice cannot be cultivated.

The millet was contained in a basket, 1 m in height, 55 cm broad at the bottom, and narrower, 35 cm, at the top.

Further, there was a large, beautiful earthenware jar, which he had bought. This was intended for the millet. And there was also a cylindrical container for the washing of the millet when it was brought home from the field. This vessel was 55 cm in height and 85 cm across.

All three houses had a small window with bars or shutters.

The inside of the houses lay in semi-darkness, as the only light is admitted through the doorway, and in some cases through the diminutive barred window. Nevertheless, the interiors give a nice impression, because of their tidiness, height, size, and cleanness. And how cosy they are, when seen at night; the door is closed, you gather round the fire and delight in perfectly cooked rice, which is the favourite dish at this principal meal of the day.

Johnston says (1897, page 453) that the greater number of the houses are circular in their plan and very much like bee-hives in shape; their walls are wickerwork filled with mud cobs, and they have thatched roofs. He also reports

12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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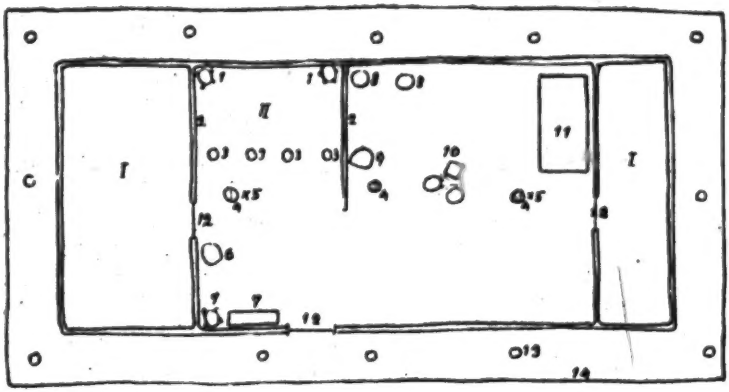

An *ihema* from the village of Kikota. I, store-rooms at either end of the house; II, corner for cattle.—1, hen's nest; 2, low partitions from bamboo; 3, posts for tying two head of cattle; 4, Three posts supporting roof; 5, here bamboo cups, calabashes, etc. were hanging on the posts; 6, wooden mortar for maize; 7, roost from bamboo tied together; 8, water jar; 9, basket; 10, hearth consisting of two round and one square hearthstone; 11, bed of the woman; 12, door; 13, supports for the roof; 14, eaves.—Outer doors from wooden boards; store-room doors from bamboo; bamboo ceiling covers area from half-way partition to the right of cow's corner on to store-room inner wall to the right.

[171] that such houses are found in Africa (a) south of the Zambezi, (b) in all of British Central Africa, (c) in all of East Africa including the Egyptian Sudan,—but not in localities where the Arab influence has introduced the oblong, rectangular building.

342 Now, if we look upon the eastern territories of Africa only—what great changes
171 have taken place there since Johnston's day? The round house is being ousted under foreign influence—Arab as well as European.

If you ask a native of Africa, why he changes the plan of his house, his answer will be, that the rectangular house is easier to sub-divide and better in use—which is most probably true. When first the technique has been adopted, people in other parts of Africa will no doubt abandon the circular design and take up the rectangular.

171 But nevertheless, the variations in types of hut in Tanganyika are truly amazing;
342 they range from e.g. the fine *ihema* of the Banyakyusa,—to the rectangular *itembe* with nearly flat, clay roof of the Vakimbu,—to the round bee-hives of the Batutsi, which may be built in no time on a frame-work of branches and covered with

13:Lehmann E-5 (1939) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

After these admonitions, the mats which the girl had manufactured were inspected. During this examination it was told her that a wife should be seen in the possession of as many beautiful mats as possible, made by her for herself and for her husband. Should the girl reveal such conduct as a wife, *ubusangalufu* (happiness) would be in her hut.

When the proper ceremony seemed to have come to an end, another discussion followed. The girl had told the *unnyago*, during the above mentioned admonition, that her parents also sometimes exchanged angry words. Therefore, a new discussion between the father and the mother arose, in which also the *unnyago* was the "speaker", but the other participants of the ceremony also shared in it, and the discussion too became at times heated. Still, after about 15 minutes, it suddenly came to an end, and the matter in dispute was declared settled. With this the whole ceremony ended.

8. One day I asked the chief for permission to visit his huts. He dwelt in a rectangular hut *(ikibaga)*. A very beautiful *ikitara* (bed) was in the main room, composed of many sleeping mats *(ubuleli*, pl. *imileli)* and of big round wooden blocks (sections of a tree-trunk), one at the head and a smaller one at the foot of the bed. Each of the four fine mats which lay uppermost had a special name. All the mats rested on sticks of reed laid across beams lying on smaller poles on the floor[28]. These mats were naturally of nearly the same height as the wooden block which formed the head part of the *ikitara*. In some other old-fashioned and better houses in Nyakyusa villages, similar beds were to be seen, but generally the bedsteads are much more simple.

One of the most important permissions granted me by the chief was to enter the "store room", connected with his main room by a door. The objects to be seen here were the same as those to be found in other huts or store-rooms, e. g. the big *ifituba* (baskets) for storing grain, up to four feet high, smeared over with cow-dung and clay, and smaller baskets for different purposes. In one corner hung different kinds of dancing fans *(urukope*, sg.) made of hairs from the tails of bulls, with fine handles of horn. In the dark opposite corner of the same wall there seemed to hang a similar object, but it was wrapped in banana bast. This was the real sign of the chief's dignity, the symbol of his authority and power, named *ubuswigala*. A long discussion was needed to induce the chief to unveil it. Only by constantly consulting by glances the present *amafumu* the chief slowly unveiled it. He told us that

[28] Cf. *Fülleborn*, p. 381.

13: Lehmann E-5 (1939)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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342 353 622 778 [775] [824] he had received this object from his ancestors and it must always hang on this spot, as the ancestral spirits *(ubusyuka)*[26] themselves controlled its presence. It consisted of an *unswigara*, i. e. the tail of an ox, but the upper part of it was hollow. In this hollow part medicines *(ifingila)*[27] were kept. Yet another magical medicine, in the shape of a piece of bark of the tree called *Erythrophleum Guineense*[28] was fastened at the upper end of this sign. When my European attendant immediately said to the chief: "And from this piece you make your *mwafi*"[29], the chief exclaimed in astonishment: *"Umne wana Kyara!"* (You are sons of Kyara! i. e. You Europeans know everything.)

After this there was no more delay in revealing to us some more features of this sign of dignity. According to the belief of his fathers this object possessed a special *amaka* (power)[30], e. g. to defeat enemies, if the chief were to hold it directly against them. Also if a thief were [789] to try to enter the room by force, by making a hole beneath the wall of this part of the hut, he would be stricken by power coming from the *ubusisya* and he would have the impression that eyes are directed against him, and so be driven away.

[595] After these interesting communications I went to visit the hut of one of his wives, which still revealed the *isyenga*, the old-fashioned round structure of bamboo poles diverging from their upper end and thatched with grass[31].

241 784 9. The frequent walks in company with the chief or some of his *amafumu* gave me several opportunities for enquiries. On one occasion,

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[26] Cf. *Wilson*, Burial, p. 9: *unsyuka* (Sing.); *Mackenzie*, p. 191: *basyuka* (Karonga).

[27] Cf. *Mackenzie*, p. 275: *ifingira* (Karonga).

[278] [28] The pharmacological substance of the bark (Cortex Erythroploëi, „Sassa-bark") is the alcaloid Erythrophleïn which produces the same typical effects on the heart as the Digitalis-group (cf. *C. G. Santesson:* Pfeilgiftstudien XII. Arkiv för Botanik 27 A, No. 4, Stockholm 1935, p. 6).

[29] Cf. *Wilson*, Land Rights, p. 32; *Merensky*, p. 134; *Fülleborn*, p. 309.

[30] *amaka* is not a specific expression for „magical" or (religious) „supernatural" power, although, from the European standpoint this meaning may be connected with the word in specific cases, but generally it means any striking expression or effect of a quality of a person or object, e. g. *upiki eki ngalimo amaka*, in this wood is power. This word is, therefore, a parallel to the Austronesian, especially Polynesian word *mana*, examined in my treatise „Mana. The term of that what is exceedingly striking". Staatliches Forschungsinstitut für Völkerkunde. I. Reihe. Ethnographie. Vol. 2. Leipzig. 1922. If the Nyakyusa wishes to say that a phenomenon is "supernatural", then he connects it with Kyara, or he names it directly "Kiara" (cf. *Merensky*, p. 110 [197, 218]).

[31] Cf. *Fülleborn*, p. 377, fig. 140: Schematical average of a round-hut (as also to be found with the Nyakyusa still today).